

Message Text

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, UNSC, XJ, SF, RH

SUBJECT:RHODESIA: DISCUSSION WITH BRITISH ON SECURITY
COUNCIL CONTINGENCIES

REF: A)USUN 5498; B) USUN 5184

1. AT DECEMBER 13 MEETING WITH UKUN TO DISCUSS
CONTINGENCY PLANNING IN THE EVENT OF A MOVE FOR SECURITY
COUNCIL ACTION ON RHODESIA SPECIFIC OIL SANCTIONS, USUN
SHOULD MAKE FOLLOWING POINTS:

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A) WE WELCOME THE OPENING OF CONSULTATIONS IN NEW
YORK WITH THE BRITISH ON SECURITY COUNCIL CONTINGENCIES
CONNECTED WITH RHODESIA, WHICH WE HOPE WILL ENABLE US
TO HANDLE WHATEVER COMES UP AS SMOOTHLY AS POSSIBLE.
" - THAT A DEBATE ON SC OIL SANCTIONS CAN
BE HELD OFF UNTIL WE HAVE A BETTER PICTURE OF WHERE
RHODESIA NEGOTIATIONS ARE HEADING. WE DO THINK IT

IMPORTANT TO POINT OUT TO AFRICAN DELEGATIONS AS THE OCCASION ARISES THE HAZARDS WE SEE IN THEIR PUSHING FOR SC ACTION AGAINST SMITH AND SOUTH AFRICA AT A TIME AND

IN A FASHION WHICH COULD IMPEDE UK/US EFFORTS TO BRING ABOUT A TRANSITION OF POWER. MOREOVER, ACTION TO "DELIVER" SMITH WITHOUT AN AGREED GOAL TOWARDS WHICH TO PUSH HIM DOES NOT HELP IN RESOLVING RHODESIAN QUESTION AND WOULD MEAN DEPRIVING OURSELVES OF A TOOL WHICH WE WILL NEED TO USE WHEN THE PROPER TIME COMES. WE HOPE THAT THE UK WILL JOIN US IN MAKING THIS POINT.

C) NEVERTHELESS, WE THINK AN AFRICAN DEMAND FOR SC MEETING ON RHODESIA IS LIKELY THIS MONTH OR NEXT AND THAT WE SHOULD CONTINUE OUR CONSULTATIONS QUIETLY WITH A VIEW TO DECIDING HOW WE WILL HANDLE THE OIL QUESTION, WHICH WILL INEVITABLY ARISE. WE THINK IT IMPORTANT TO IRON OUT POTENTIAL DIFFERENCES WITH THE UK EARLY SO THAT WE CAN EXPAND CONSULTATIONS TO INCLUDE FRANCE, CANADA, AND FRG. KEEPING A LOW PROFILE IS ESSENTIAL LEST WE STIMULATE THE EVENT WE ARE TRYING TO AVOID.

D) AT THIS STAGE WE BELIEVE CONSULTATIONS IN NEW YORK WOULD BE PREFERABLE TO WASHINGTON OR LONDON BECAUSE THE DISCUSSIONS WILL FOCUS ON SECURITY COUNCIL SCENARIOS FOR WHICH THE EXPERTISE
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OF THE UN MISSIONS WILL BE ESSENTIAL. TO AVOID DRAWING ATTENTION TO WHAT WE ARE DOING, WE WOULD PLAN TO KEEP DELEGATIONS SMALL.

E) THE THEME OF TOMORROW'S DISCUSSION WOULD BE TACTICS FOR HANDLING AN EVENTUAL COUNCIL MEETING AND NATURE OF MEASURES (INCLUDING OIL MEASURES) WHICH MIGHT BE REQUIRED TO MEET AFRICAN DEMANDS. WE WOULD WISH TO REACH CONSENSUS WITH BRITISH ON RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ACTION IN SECURITY COUNCIL AND EXTENT TO WHICH UK/US INITIATIVE HAD GAINED SUPPORT OF PARTIES. IN ADDITION TO INDIAN RESOLUTION AND VARIANTS ON IT WHICH WOULD BE LESS PAINFUL TO UK, WE WOULD WANT TO UNDERSTAND MORE FULLY AND EVEN LEARN STATUS OF EARLIER UK DRAFT (USUN 2982) CALLING FOR EMBARGO ON SOUTH AFRICA IN ABSENCE SAG ASSURANCES THAT NO OIL OR PRODUCTS WOULD BE SHIPPED TO RHODESIA. IN THIS CONNECTION, HOWEVER, WE WOULD BE INTERESTED TO KNOW WHETHER THIS DRAFT HAS BEEN CLEARED AT A HIGHER LEVEL IN THE FCO AND HMG THAN WAS THE CASE WHEN UKUN GAVE COPY TO USUN LAST SEPTEMBER. MISSION SHOULD POINT OUT TO BRITISH THAT WILLINGNESS OF US TO SUPPORT THE INDIAN RESOLUTION WOULD ENTAIL A USG

COMMITMENT ONLY TO REVIEW POLICIES. WE WOULD NOT BE
COMMITTED TO ENFORCING PUNITIVE ACTIONS AGAINST PARENT

COMPANIES UNLESS WE SUBSEQUENTLY MADE THAT DECISION
BASED ON THE REVIEW.

2. FYI: WE BELIEVE DISCUSSION REPORTED REF A
REPRESENTS GOOD START FOR CONSULTATIONS WITH BRITISH.
WE ANTICIPATED THAT UK WOULD CONTINUE TO EXPRESS
RESERVATIONS, LARGELY OF A LEGAL NATURE, ON INDIAN
RESOLUTION. WHILE WE ARE NATURALLY SYMPATHETIC TO UK
CONCERNS, WE FEEL THAT INDIAN RESOLUTION IS LEAST PAIN-
FUL AMONG VARIOUS ALTERNATIVES.
MOREOVER, THE
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INDIAN RESOLUTION, AS WE INTERPRET IT, HAS ADVANTAGE
OF BEING PERMISSIVE IN THAT IT ONLY REQUIRES REEXAMINA-
TION OF POLICIES AND DOES NOT ABSOLUTELY REQUIRE THAT
WE IMPOSE PENALTIES AGAINST THE PARENT COMPANIES FOR
THE FAILURE OF THEIR SOUTH AFRICAN SUBSIDIARIES TO
STOP SUPPLYING RHODESIA. ANOTHER ADVANTAGE OF INDIAN
RESOLUTION IS THAT IT IS ON THE TABLE AND HAS SOME
AFRICAN SUPPORT. OUR EXPERIENCE IN RECENT SECURITY
COUNCIL DEBATE ON SOUTH AFRICA, WHEN AFRICANS WERE
VERY ANNOYED THAT WE DID NOT USE THEIR PREVIOUSLY-
TABLED RESOLUTIONS AS BASIS FOR WORK BUT RATHER CAME IN
WITH OUR OWN TEXT, SUGGESTS THAT THERE WOULD BE
ADVANTAGES IN PROCEEDING FROM INDIAN DRAFT. WE AGREE
WITH UK ASSESSMENT (PARA 3 REFTEL A) THAT BENIN
RESOLUTION IS UNACCEPTABLE, BUT WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE
THAT WE MAY HAVE TO RESPOND TO THIS KIND OF PROPOSAL.

CHRISTOPHER

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